

421 considered the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 and the Registration
 425 Law of 1859 as governmental measures designed for purposes of
 taxation and military conscription. They left it to the village
 councils and tribal sheikhs to enter all the land in their names.
 During the second part of the 19th century the large landholdings
 of the powerful sheikhs were substantially increased as the result
 of the Sultan's policy to win their co-operation by gifts of land.
 The developments during the 19th century thus laid the foundations
 for the inequality of land-ownership which has become the scourge
 of the Middle Eastern agrarian society.

421 As long as the patriarchal social order was maintained, the
 425 economic life of the tribe was not disturbed by the growing con-
 427 traction of land in the hands of the sheikhs. Part of the land
 566 was collected by slaves or fellahin tenants, the rest used by
 the tribesmen as grazing areas for their flocks of animals. But
 when the tribal leaders began to witness an ever increasing inter-
 est in agriculture, the semi-legal transfer of land, formerly the
 collective property of the tribe, to the private ownership of the
 sheikhs had the effect that the "prince later parer" within the
 nomadic tribal society emerged as the big semi-feudal land-
 lord.

421 The Mandatory authorities further strengthened the power of
 566 the landlords by legal recognition of their rights in the lands
 which they claimed as their own.

421 Progressive circles in the Arab countries are in favor of

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[493] It is not a rarity to see an automobile under the tent of the
622 Bedouin, even when he still wanders and camps with his tribe.

Gradually the chief's established luxurious residences, equipped with all the comforts of modern living. At this stage the Bedouin will spend most of the time away from the tribe, favoring the social, economic and political activities of the sedentary population.

177 An instructive example of the changes in the social status
622 of the powerful Bedouin is the case of the Bula. The Bula
178 tribesmen still belong to the few remaining true Bedouins. Their
former chief, Emir Sari al-Din'lan, however, showed already before World War I his preference for a house to a tent. His grandson Feras, the present Emir of the tribe, was in his youth a genuine Bedouin, but later his mode of living became thoroughly
2) modernized.

619 The tribesmen will not remain unaffected by this development.
178 For a while they try tenaciously to preserve the nomadic mode of
566 existence, but sooner or later they will become the exploited
laborers and share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

566 During the British regime the absentee landlords lost
622 much of their grip on the cultivators, but the tenants of the
tribal Bedouins are still in a virtual state of serfdom. In some cases the tribal chief still has complete authority over the

1. Oppenheim, 1943, p. 128

members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he deposits and collects his own levies.

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Hadd that owned 20 000 dunams of land in the Sharon. The Sheikh's family is whose name the land was registered, and 20 000 dunams to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunam orange plantation and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and military conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal Sheikh.

CHAPTER II

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlement.

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for sedentary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1928 and 1930 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1936/37 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 30 per cent of the livestock perished. But still we do not hear of a great number of Bedouin tribesmen

1. Hamed, 1938, p. 430
2. Ashmoust, 1938, pp. 15-19
3. Source mentioned two sheep and goats — 400, cattle — 400, mules — 500. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1943, p. 10